



Department of State

TELEGRAM

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ACTION NEA-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-10 ADS-00 SMS-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
PM-07 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01  
SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 ACDA-12 IO-14 HA-05 /121  
-----00168 141457Z /45

P R 141311Z AUG 80  
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7970  
INFO AMEMBASSY BEIJING  
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI  
AMCONSUL PESHAWAR

DEPARTMENT OF STATE A/CDC/IR

REVIEWED BY *John Kelley* DATE 8/14/87  
( ) UNCLASSIFIED ( ) DECLASSIFY  
( ) CONFIDENTIAL ( ) DECLASSIFY in PART  
( ) SECRET ( ) Non-responsive info.  
EOL, EO or PA exemptions

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TS authority to:  
( ) CLASSIFY as \_\_\_\_\_ OADR  
( ) DOWNGRADE TS to ( ) S or ( ) C, OADR

REF: NEW DELHI 16499 *MR*

E.O. 11652: GDS 8/14/86 (GRIFFIN, GEORGE G.B.) OR-M  
TAGS: PEPR AF UR  
SUBJECT: SOVIET POLICY WITHIN AFGHANISTAN

1. (S-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. APPRECIATE REFTEL. WE HAVE PICKED UP SOME REPORTS WHICH MAY TEND TO SUBSTANTIATE MALHOTRA'S CLAIM THAT THE KARMAL REGIME IS RENTING TRIBES TO FIGHT THE MUJAHEDDIN. IN ONE OF OUR RECENT SITUATION REPORTS (SINCE DESTROYED) WE MENTIONED A BATTLE IN LOGAR PROVINCE SOUTH OF KABUL. BECAUSE IT CAME FROM A SINGLE SOURCE OF ERRATIC RELIABILITY WE DID NOT INCLUDE AN ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGINS OF THAT BATTLE, BUT WILL DO SO HERE.

3. ACCORDING TO OUR SOURCE, A GROUP OF JAJI TRIBESMEN ATTACKED A BUS AND PRIVATE VEHICLE CONVOY SOUTH OF KABUL A COUPLE OF WEEKS AGO. IN THE PROCESS OF RELIEVING PASSENGERS OF VALUABLES, THE JAJIS INDICATED THAT THEY WERE PART OF A LARGER GROUP OF

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RESISTANCE FIGHTERS IN THE AREA. LATER THAT NIGHT, AN INSUR-

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SENT MET SOME OF THE PASSENGERS WHO HAD BEEN SENT TO PUL-I-A-LAH FOR THE NIGHT. WHEN HE HEARD THEM COMPLAINING THAT THE "REBELS WERE NO BETTER THAN THE COMMUNISTS IN KABUL," HE ROUNDED UP SOME OF HIS COLLEAGUES AND WENT LOOKING FOR THE JAJIS. THE INSURGENTS REPORTEDLY FOUND THEM THE NEXT DAY IN A NEARBY VILLAGE, WITH THE LOOTED GOODS. OUR SOURCE CLAIMED THAT THE INSURGENTS ATTACKED THE JAJIS, RECOVERING THE LOOT AND KILLING MOST OF THE TRIBALS. THEN IN TRUE ROBIN HOOD STYLE, THEY WERE SAID TO HAVE RETURNED THE VALUABLES TO THE OWNERS, CHIDING THEM FOR THINKING THAT "PATRIOTS" WOULD BEHAVE LIKE JAJIS, WHOSE LONG WITH THE MANGALS AND SHINWARIS OF LOGAR HAVE BEEN KNOWN FOR CENTURIES AS "THIEVES, ROBBERS AND PROSTITUTES."

4. THE SAME SOURCE HAD EARLIER PROVIDED A LESS COLORFUL ACCOUNT OF THE RECENT FIGHTING IN WARDAK PROVINCE. IN THAT CAMPAIGN, HE CLAIMED, JAJI, MANGAL AND SHINWARI TRIBESMEN FINANCES BY THE REGIME FOUGHT ALONGSIDE PARCHAM PARTY IRREGULARS AND AFGHAN ARMY TROOPS AGAINST THE RESISTANCE FIGCTERS. HE NOTED THAT THOSE THREE TRIBES, WHICH MAKE UP A MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION OF LOGAR PROVINCE (THE JAJIS ARE THE MOST NUMEROUS, AND THE SHINWARIS THE LEAST), HAVE A LONG HISTORY OF MERCENARY SERVICE TO KABUL REGIMES, ESPECIALLY AGAINST THEIR OLDEST ENEMIES, THE ZADRANS OF PAKTIA.

5. IF BABRAK KARMAH IS PURSUING THIS POLITICAL AND FIGHTING AFGHAN TRADITION, HE IS MERELY FOLLOWING IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF VIRTUALLY ALL OF HIS PREDECESSORS. (TARAKPHAND AMIN ALSO TRIED TO USE SOME OF THE EASTERN TRIBES, WITH MIXED SUCCESS.) FRONTIER AND TRIBAL AFFAIRS MINISTER FAIZ MOHAMMAD, A NATIVE OF PAKTIA, HAS WORKED AS THE PRIMARY AGENT OF THE REGIME TO RECRUIT THE TRIBES. AS HE DID IN THE SAME POSITION UNDER DAUD. FOR THEIR PART, IF THE TRIBESMEN ARE FRONTING FOR THE  
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DRA, THEY ARE FULFILLING A ROLE MADE ACCEPTABLE FOR CENTURIES BY THEIR FOREFATHERS. IN MANY CASES, THEY WOULD BE AVENGING BLOOD FEUDS IN STANDARD AFGHAN FASHION. SOME MAY LOOK UPON THE OPPORTUNITY AS UNIQUE, SINCE WE ARE TOLD THAT FAIZ MOHAMMAD IS PROMISING (AND SOMETIMES DELIVERING) SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS, INCLUDING "TANKS," TO THOSE TRIBES WHO WILL SIDE WITH THE REGIME.

6. IT SAID, IT IS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE HOW USING THE ANCIENT SYSTEM WILL ACHIEVE THE LOFTY GOALS OF THE PDPA; MOST OF WHICH REQUIRE NOT ONLY FIRM CENTRAL CONTROL AND GUIDANCE FROM

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KABUL, BUT ALSO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE VERY TRIBAL LEADERS UPON WHOM THE TRADITIONAL FEUDAL SYSTEM DEPENDS. SETTING TRIBES AGAINST EACH OTHER IN A LONG-TERM EFFORT TO INITIATE RESISTANCE TO REFORM HAS ITS HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS HERE, BUT ONE WONDERS IF IMPATIENT PARACHUTIST IDEALISTS AND THE SOVIETS WILL BE CONTENT TO LET THE PROCESS RUN ITS COURSE.

7. WE WILL BE LOOKING FOR FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT THE DRA HAS REVERTED TO TYPICAL AFGHAN BEHAVIOR WITHIN THE COUNTRY. MEANWHILE, WE WOULD LIKE TO ASK OUR COLLEAGUES IN PAKISTAN IF THEY PERCEIVE AS CLEARLY AS WE DO, GROWING EVIDENCE THAT THE DRA, AND THROUGH IT THE SOVIETS, IS USING EQUALLY HOARY METHODS OF CROSS-BORDER SUBVERSION IN THAT COUNTRY.

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